

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

The myth of the 'neoconservative' and 'Israel lobby' conspiracy

How U.S. foreign policy shifted after Cold War

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 70/NO. 17

MAY 1, 2006

Detroit: workers fight firings for joining immigrant rights rally

Employees of Wolverine Packing win reinstatement

BY RÓGER CALERO
AND MARSHALL LAMBIE

DETROIT—A victory was scored here when a group of meatpacking workers, fired for missing work to attend an immigrant rights rally, went back to work after winning reinstatement and full pay for lost time. Sixteen of 21 dismissed workers are now back on the job.

The fired workers, in their majority Mexican-born, had joined with other co-workers from the Wolverine Packing plant to take part in a 20,000-strong demonstration on March 27 calling for the legalization of undocumented immigrants. That action was one of dozens across the country that immigrant workers have carried out since early March to demand their rights.

"They didn't fire us because we were lazy or for causing problems. They did it to try to intimidate us," said Minerva Ramírez, one of the workers.

The week leading up to the march, said Ramírez, who works in the production department known as the steak room, a company supervisor walked around the department, taking down the names of those who planned to participate in the march. Many of the workers had been trying to get the time off, to no avail. Some even offered to work overtime or to come in on their days off to make up for the few hours they would be absent for the march, said Ramírez.

In an April 6 company statement, Wolverine general manager Jay Bonahoom said only a limited number of

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Cecilia Ramírez

Minerva Ramírez (left) joins March 27 immigrant rights rally in Detroit of 20,000. She and 20 other workers at Wolverine Packing were fired for missing work that day.

U.S. bosses try to victimize workers demonstrating for immigrant rights

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The unprecedented mobilizations across the United States April 9–10 demanding legal status for immigrants demonstrated the growing willingness among foreign-born workers to stand up for their right to live and work without fear of firing or deportation. Faced with hundreds of thousands of workers nationwide taking the day off or leaving the job early to join rallies, most affected employers either just closed for the day

or settled for lower production. Tyson Foods, for example, shut down about 10 of its 100 plants on April 10.

In some cases bosses tried to victimize employees who demonstrated for immigrant rights, then often backed down as the result of protests. A few hundred have been fired from their jobs in factories, restaurants, banks, and other workplaces. The *New York Times* reported April 15 that the owners of one unidentified factory in Wisconsin reinstated 200 workers the bosses had dismissed. The turnaround came after march organizers

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U.S. rulers: 'All options are on table' against Iran

BY PAUL PEDERSON

"All the options are on the table," said U.S. president George Bush at an April 18 news conference at the White House, responding to a question from a reporter on whether his administration is considering "the possibility of a nuclear strike" against Iran. The statement reflected the U.S. rulers' determination to press Iran to stop development of its nuclear industry, whether through sanctions and other punitive measures or through a military assault.

That threat and heightened speculation in the press about the preparations by Washington and its allies for war against Iran came on the heels of an April 11 announcement by Iran's president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, that the country's nuclear industry has for the first time successfully produced enriched uranium.

Tehran resumed work on uranium enrichment in February, following the de-

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N.Y. court fines transit union, orders president to jail for 10 days

Labor protest rally called

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

NEW YORK—In a blow to the labor movement here, a State Supreme Court judge on April 17 fined Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 \$2.5 million and suspended its dues checkoff rights. A week earlier, Judge Theodore Jones had sentenced Local 100 president Roger Toussaint to 10 days in jail. The court actions were meted out as punishment for the three-day walkout in December by 34,000 subway and bus workers trying

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"Why is this book important outside Cuba, and in the U.S. above all?"

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— Mary-Alice Waters,

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For more information, contact listings on page 8

'Militant' sub drive is off to running start

\$90,000 fund launched

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Nearly 650 people subscribed to the *Militant* in the first 10 days of the spring circulation campaign, which began April 8 and lasts for seven weeks until May 28. That's 125 more new subscribers than those who signed up in the first 10 days of last fall's subscription drive, and almost one-third of the current goal of 2,000.

The effort to increase the *Militant's* readership is now off to a running start. This bodes well for the simultaneous campaign to raise \$90,000 to help the paper continue publishing week after week.

Most of the new readers signed up at the April 9–10 mobilizations for immigrant rights in the United States and

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‘Capitalism versus socialism’ debate held at N.Y. State campus

BY MAURA DELUCA

ALBANY, New York—It was standing room only as 70 people, mostly students, participated in an April 5 program called “Capitalism vs. Socialism: The Great Debate” held here at the State University of New York. The debate was between two Young Socialists, Ben O’Shaughnessy and Nicholas Terlizzi, and two members of the College Republicans, Allen Pettyjohn and Matthew Rozea. John Murphy, vice president of the student affairs office on campus, chaired the event.

“History makes our job easier because capitalism has proven to be a more moral system,” stated Pettyjohn in presenting the Republicans’ side in the debate. “It promotes productivity and efficiency, while socialism creates apathy, dependency, and eliminates the individual incentive.”

He said capitalism has improved conditions in Third World countries by providing jobs and raising living conditions. “Instead of ‘Workers of the world unite!’” he said, quoting Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels, founders of the communist movement, “today we should say, ‘workers of the world unite for global capitalism—you have nothing to lose but your poverty.’”

O’Shaughnessy, speaking for the Young Socialists, began explaining the rise of class society and the struggles between contending classes along the historical march toward socialism. The fight for socialism, he said, “is the only way forward for workers, farmers, and youth today seeking to escape the horrors of capitalism.” He pointed to the ongoing resistance by working people in the United States, including union-organizing struggles and the massive

demonstrations taking place across the country by immigrant workers for amnesty and legalization.

Noting that he had visited Cuba last summer, the Young Socialist said workers and farmers there had overthrown a U.S.-backed dictatorship in 1959 and began a socialist revolution in the interests of the vast majority. “Cuba offers a selfless example of proletarian internationalism around the world today,” he said.

Several rounds of discussion followed. “What about religious freedom in Cuba?” one student asked. “If socialism is so great, then explain what happened in China during the Great Leap Forward or the gulags in the Soviet Union?” another asked. “Why does capitalism breed economic depressions and wars?”

Young Socialist Terlizzi explained that the former Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China are not examples of communism. The Stalinist, bureaucratic regimes there, he said, represent the opposite of Cuba’s revolutionary leadership and its course of relying on the conscious organization



Militant/Ben Joyce

Debate held April 5 at State University of New York at Albany. From left: Young Socialists members Nick Terlizzi and Ben O’Shaughnessy, moderator John Murphy, and College Republicans Matthew Rozea (obscured) and Allen Pettyjohn.

and mobilization of working people to transform their conditions. He added that while “the hold of religion is declining around the world, people can freely practice religion in Cuba today.”

One person in the audience asked a question about the immigration debate taking place within the U.S. ruling class.

“The Mexican government has a policy of exporting its poverty to the United States,” said Rozea. “I agree with the Sensenbrenner bill—they [undocumented immigrants] are all felons

for being in the U.S. illegally.”

“I disagree,” said fellow college Republican Pettyjohn. “I am more in favor of the McCain-Kennedy bill, where these immigrants would pay fines to stay and work.”

The Young Socialists panelists called for immediate legalization and permanent residency for all immigrants, explaining that this struggle was in the interests of all working people.

Maura DeLuca is a member of the Young Socialists.

Cuban border guards stop human smugglers

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

On April 5 Cuban border guards foiled an attempt by three men to smuggle Cubans abroad on a U.S.-registered speedboat, killing one of the smugglers and wounding another after they refused to stop and their vessel rammed a Cuban coast guard boat. The 40-foot speedboat was heading for the southern coast of the province of Pinar del Rio in western Cuba.

“When the Border Guard units ordered the speedboat’s crew to halt, the traffick-

ers responded with a defiant attitude and aggressive actions, including violent charges against one of the Border Troop crafts, which suffered multiple damages and was in danger of flipping over, endangering the lives of its combatants, who were maneuvering in conditions of darkness and poor visibility,” the Cuban daily *Granma* reported April 6.

In response, Cuban officers fired shots at the intruders. Two injured crew members were evacuated to a provincial hospital in Cuba where “in spite of doctors’ efforts, the most seriously injured person died in the afternoon,” *Granma* said.

Two of those captured on the speedboat were Cuban-born U.S. citizens. Passports they carried identified them as Rafael Mesa Farinas and Rosendo Salgado Castro. The third individual, who died later, did not carry documents and has not yet been identified.

A background check of the seized boat indicates it belongs to a Cuban-born U.S. citizen named John Roberto, who calls himself the “Blue Shark.” The vessel

has been involved in numerous smuggling incidents aimed at taking Cubans to Mexico for eventual entry into the United States. The 39 people waiting to board the boat—20 men, 12 women, and 7 children—were questioned by Cuban authorities, and some of them were sent to their homes, *Granma* said.

The incident “confirms the irresponsible, criminal, and aggressive nature of the U.S. government toward Cuba, particularly the deliberate use of the migration issue against the Revolution,” through laws like the Cuban Adjustment Act, *Granma* noted. This law, enacted in 1966, grants virtually automatic asylum and expedited residency to any Cuban who sets foot upon U.S. territory, regardless of crimes they may have committed to get there.

Seizing on this incident, U.S. State Department spokesman Sean McCormack said, “If you have an American citizen who’s been shot and killed, I think that that is a deeply disturbing matter, and we would be very concerned about that.”

THE MILITANT

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—Luis Rosa, San Juan, Puerto Rico. Puerto Rican independence fighter and former political prisoner



Luis Rosa at event in Philadelphia, Oct. 29, 2005, to honor life of Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, killed by FBI agents.

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First shift in U.S. foreign policy since end of Cold War

The myth of the ‘neocon,’ ‘Israel lobby’ conspiracy

(Last of three articles)

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON—A highly publicized paper by Harvard University dean Stephen Walt and University of Chicago political science professor John Mearsheimer peddles the false and reactionary theory that U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East is manipulated by a pro-Israel lobby.

An article by prominent radical academic James Petras claims that the Israeli government controls U.S. foreign policy through an influential group of Jewish “Zioncons” and through hundreds of Israeli spies who have supposedly penetrated “the highest spheres of the U.S. government.”

The two recent articles present the argument of many liberal and middle-class critics of the Bush administration—also promoted by some rightists—that U.S. foreign policy has been hijacked by a group of “neocons,” described by some of these forces as a “Jewish cabal.”

This is the last in a series of articles on the first major shift in U.S. foreign policy since World War II. The first article explained the origins of the U.S. government’s policy of “containment” of the Soviet bloc and its allies during the last half of the 20th century (see “Why was Cold War perceived as ‘cold’?” in the April 17 issue). The second article described the end of the so-called “peace dividend” and Washington’s slowness in recognizing the new situation it faced resulting from the end of the Cold War (see “How the ‘peace dividend’ ended” in the April 24 issue).

As these previous articles have outlined, the U.S. government is carrying out the most far-reaching shift in military strategy and organization since the second world imperialist war. With the end of the Cold War, the U.S. rulers are compelled to take steps to confront sharper competition from their imperialist rivals and prepare to take on more directly the resistance

by workers and farmers to the effects of the deepening world capitalist crisis. Under the banner of the “global war on terrorism,” they are transforming the U.S. armed forces into a lighter, more mobile military better suited to fight the kinds of wars U.S. imperialism will have to pursue around the world.

No wing of the Democrats or Republicans has offered an alternative to this bipartisan foreign policy course. The tone of bourgeois politics in the United States, however, has become more shrill and intense. This growing factionalism among capitalist politicians is a result of the frustration by the U.S. rulers about their vulnerability in face of a future of sharpening economic crises, wars, and uncontrollable forces set in motion by these changes.

‘Neocons’ responsible for Iraq war?

In this context some liberal Democratic politicians and commentators, in attacking their Republican rivals, resort to the false and misleading charge that a secretive “neoconservative” group is shaping U.S. foreign policy and betraying “American interests.” These assertions obscure the fact that U.S. foreign policy is bipartisan, that the Bush administration is acting on behalf of the U.S. ruling class, and that this policy does serve their class interests.

In a typical commentary, Newark *Star-Ledger* columnist John Farmer decries “the neoconservatives around Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld who, with Vice President Dick Cheney as their enabler, authored the misadventure in Iraq.” He identifies former deputy defense secretary Paul Wolfowitz, former undersecretary of defense Douglas Feith, and former Pentagon advisor Richard Perle as among these.

In their 83-page paper titled “The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy,” Harvard dean Walt and University of Chicago professor Mearsheimer marshal their arguments to contend

the United States who had responded to a call for help. The threat by the police to carry out arrests never materialized.

The clan mothers from the Six Nations Confederacy released a statement to the press, which was addressed to the developer of the subdivision, provincial and federal authorities, and “Her Majesty the Queen.” It commanded “the agents, representatives and officers of the said British corporation to be at peace and refrain from any acts of violence to spill blood or interfere with the rights of the Onkwe’hon:we (the aboriginal people).”

“We’re here for the coming faces [generations]. We felt we had to take a stand for them,” Ilene, one of the protesters at the property entrance, told the *Militant*.

“The old people used to say this isn’t our land, we’re just keepers for the next seven generations,” said Kahehti:Io.

The confederacy chiefs represent the traditional government of the Six Nations as opposed to the band council chief elected under the authority of the hated federal Indian Act. The chiefs state that in 1784 the Six Nations were granted the 360,000-hectare Hal-



Reuters/Aaron Allmon

U.S. troops dismount from Blackhawk helicopter during military operation in Al Jazeera desert in northern Iraq, March 22. The 2003 invasion of Iraq was bipartisan decision of U.S. ruling class to serve its interests, not result of manipulation by a ‘neocon/Jewish cabal.’

that “the overall thrust of U.S. policy in the [Mideast] region is due almost entirely to U.S. domestic politics, and especially to the activities of the ‘Israel Lobby.’” They add that “the unmatched power of the Israel Lobby” has made Washington pursue policies beneficial to the Israeli government but not to “the American national interest.”

They argue that “the core of the Lobby is comprised of American Jews” who seek “to bend U.S. foreign policy so that it advances Israel’s interests,” together with “neoconservative gentiles.” According to them, the so-called lobby not only includes Bush administration officials such as Wolfowitz and Feith, but that it controls the editorial boards of newspapers such as the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* and has decisive influence in the Brookings Institution, American Enterprise Institute, and other major think tanks.

Walt and Mearsheimer claim the “Israel lobby” and “neoconservatives” were the driving force behind the 2003 U.S. invasion in Iraq. “The Bush administration’s ambitious strategy to transform the Middle East—beginning with the invasion of Iraq—is at least partly intended to improve Israel’s strategic situation,” they assert.

Anti-Semitic arguments

The article by James Petras, entitled

“The Tyranny of Israel Over America,” churns out the same argument and reeks with the same anti-Semitism and American nationalism. The only difference is that Petras has long portrayed himself as a socialist and anti-imperialist.

Petras quotes anonymous FBI “sources” to claim “large-scale deep penetration of American society and the government by Israeli spies and their collaborators” who fed “disinformation” to the U.S. government to persuade Washington to launch the war against Iraq. He too attributes U.S. foreign policy to the influence of “Feith, Wolfowitz, Perle, and other Zioncons closely identified with Israeli intelligence.”

Petras describes the invasion of Iraq as a war “in the service of Israel” that went against “U.S. good sense and national interest.”

Not surprisingly, Walt’s “research” paper won hearty applause from ultrarightist David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader. On his web site davidduke.com, he praised the Harvard dean for revealing “how these Jewish extremists have manipulated American policy against the clear interests of the American people.”

Who sets U.S. foreign policy?

These assertions about “neoconservative” and even “Jewish” control over Washington’s policies in the Mideast are fraudulent and reactionary. First, the leading figures in the alleged “neocon conspiracy” such as Wolfowitz and Feith, are no longer in the Bush administration. Second, none of the central officials responsible for Washington’s policy in Iraq—Bush, Cheney, and Rumsfeld—are Jewish.

Last week’s article noted that, while William Kristol’s *Weekly Standard* and other so-called neoconservatives were among those who in 1997–98 began to campaign for taking steps to overthrow the Saddam Hussein government, this course toward “regime change” predominated among most in the ruling class and became official policy under the Clinton administration.

The conspiracy theories, including the Jew-hating varieties, let the U.S. capitalists off the hook while promoting American nationalism. U.S. imperialism’s foreign policy, far from being hijacked by some isolated group, is controlled by and represents the interests of a class: the wealthy billionaire families who rule the United States, including both their parties, the Democrats and Republicans.

Six Nations fight to reclaim land in Ontario

BY JOHN STEELE

CALEDONIA, Ontario—A “land reclamation” occupation by members of the Six Nations Confederacy, near this town an hour and quarter drive southwest of Toronto, has entered its second month despite a court injunction ordering the protesters to leave.

The occupiers are demanding that work on a massive multi-million dollar housing development by Henco Industries, under construction on land they claim belongs to the Six Nations, be frozen while their land claim is resolved. The road into the development has been blocked and all construction has stopped since the occupation began on February 28.

As the March 22 deadline for police enforcement of the court injunction neared, more than 100 native women, including clan mothers leading the occupation, locked arms to form a human chain at the entrance to what Henco Industries calls the Douglas Creek Estates.

They were backed by hundreds of supporters from the community and Natives from other parts of Canada and

dimand tract—a 32-kilometer strip of land, which is 9.6 kilometers wide on either side of the Grand River, in recognition of support by the Six Nations to the British side during the American war of independence. (1 hectare = 2.5 acres; 1 kilometer = .62 miles).

Ontario government authorities maintain the Six Nations surrendered the land for sale in 1841. According to protesters, the 16,000 members of the Six Nations community now live on about 18,000 hectares.

Near the entrance to the property, tents have been erected along with a kitchen. A permanent wooden cookhouse, which also can be used for meetings, has now been built on the site. Many people from the area have indicated their support for the action by honking horns in solidarity, giving thumbs up, and dropping by with coffee and donuts. At the same time, about 250 people rallied outside the Ontario provincial police office April 5, demanding the court injunction be enforced.

Annette Kouri contributed to this article.

‘Militant’ defense campaign wins support at April 10 rallies

BY JOHN STUDER

PHILADELPHIA, April 17—Millions of immigrant workers and supporters of their demands for amnesty and legalization have taken to the streets in the United States recently. In several cases workers who took the day off work to protest have returned to the job to find they have been fired (see front-page articles).

These issues—the rights of undocumented workers to speak out about conditions at work, for a union, and for political demands like amnesty—are at the heart of the Militant Fighting Fund defense campaign.

The fund was established to help the *Militant* newspaper defend itself, including by raising funds for legal and other expenses, in a harassment lawsuit by C.W. Mining. The company owns the Co-Op mine in Utah where workers fought for two years to win representation by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). The fund also helps publicize the defense campaigns of the UMWA and its officers and 16 former Co-Op miners. Defendants face various charges, including defaming the bosses, conspiracy to defraud the company, and violating federal racketeering and labor laws. The UMWA is represented by its general counsel, and the individual miners are represented by lawyers provided by the union.

A number of protesters at the immigrant rights rallies endorsed the Militant Fighting Fund. In Philadelphia, Jonathan Blumenfeld, a member of the musicians union, signed on and donated \$20.

These supporters join many others who have signed on recently. At its April 7–9 meeting in Washington, the

National Network on Cuba (NNOC) endorsed the Militant Fighting Fund, along with a number of those in attendance, including Chuck Kaufman, national coordinator of the Nicaragua Network. The NNOC is a national coalition of dozens of U.S. groups that work together to broaden opposition to Washington’s economic war on Cuba.

Two union locals also added their names. “Amalgamated Transit Union—Local 308 joins you in solidarity,” wrote Rick Harris, president and business agent of the Chicago local.

“After reading some of the brochures, articles, and letters about the fight for labour rights in Utah and the U.S., led by miners at Co-Op, the United Mine Workers of America, and *Militant* newspaper, our local members agreed to support your Labor Defense campaign,” wrote Richard De Gaetano, recording secretary of Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 1777 in Toronto, on behalf of the union.

Many of the new endorsers are also donating funds. David Worthington and D.K. Kennedy, two unionists who mailed in their endorsements from Keizer, Oregon, sent in \$75 to help out. A member of the Transport Workers Union from Cortlandt Manor, New York, sent \$100. Another \$125 came in from a retired member of the International Association of Machinists in Seattle.

The fund now has a new address. Endorsements and contributions should be sent to the Militant Fighting Fund at P.O. Box 42896, Philadelphia, PA 19101. The new fax number is 215-243-7986. The e-mail address is militantfightingfund@yahoo.com.



Militant/Brian Taylor

Bill Estrada, former Co-Op miner, speaks at March 25 workers rights rally in Minneapolis on the miners’ fight for union representation and on the Militant Fighting Fund.

Transit union fined for 3-day strike

Continued from front page

to draw the line on concessions.

In response, the New York State AFL-CIO and the city’s Central Labor Council have called a solidarity rally for April 24 at 4:00 p.m. at Brooklyn Borough Hall to protest the attacks on the TWU. On that day Toussaint is expected to report to the court to begin his jail term. “We were engaged in civil disobedience,” Toussaint said at his sentencing for violation of the Taylor Law, which bans strikes by public employees. He noted that the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) faces no legal action for pursuing “an unlawful bargaining proposal, such as attempts to impose an illegal pension on us.”

“The fines are a ploy to break the union,” Alexander Woolfe, a train operator at Forest Hills, Queens, told the *Militant*. “Working men and women are the target.” Pointing to the strikes or threats of walkouts by private sanitation

workers, doormen, and other members of Service Employees International Union Local 32BJ, as well as Macy’s employees, Woolfe asked, “Why is this going on? All of us can’t be greedy.”

On April 18, Local 100 announced that its members approved by a 71 percent majority the same contract they had rejected by a slim margin in January. The three-year pact includes gains on pensions, 3 percent and 4 percent annual wage increases, and a concession to make first-ever worker payments toward medical coverage. The MTA dismissed the vote as an “empty gesture.” The transit bosses have won a ruling by the Public Employment Relations Board to begin binding arbitration proceedings for a contract, which many workers believe would result in even worse terms.

The court also imposed fines of more than \$100,000 each against two Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) locals in Staten Island and Queens that had joined the December walkout.

In 90 days Local 100 can request reinstatement of the dues checkoff, which it lost for four months following a 1980 walkout. Union dues will again be automatically deducted from the paychecks of ATU members in 30 days.

“They’re against us because we went on strike,” said Local 100 member Salvador Soto, a bus maintenance worker in Queens. “If you don’t use your voice they wouldn’t listen to you. They’re trying to take away our dignity.”

‘Militant’ subscription drive off to running start

Continued from front page

other related activities. *Militant* reporters went to Detroit April 13 to meet with workers at Wolverine Packing who were

fired for missing work to participate in an immigrant rights action there. Nine people signed up to subscribe during the visit, five of them workers at the plant. The majority subscribed for either six months or a year, said Don Mackle.

Supporters of the *Militant* in Des Moines signed up 65 new readers last week, reported Mary Martin. On a Saturday visit to Marshalltown, Iowa, 10 people subscribed at a street table, five of them workers at the large Swift meatpacking plant there, she said.

In Houston, socialists have sold 39 subscriptions so far, many at the immigrant rights march of nearly half a million in Dallas April 9 and the mobilization of 50,000 in Houston the next day. One subscriber stopped by a display *Militant* supporters had set up at the Houston rally with a letter he had received in the mail telling him his subscription was about to expire. “I knew you guys would be here,” he said, as he renewed his subscription and picked up a copy of *Our History Is Still Being Written* (see front-page ad).

Throughout this campaign that book is discounted to \$15 for those who subscribe to the *Militant*. Likewise, new readers can buy a copy of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* for only \$5 and a copy of the pamphlet *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning: The Fraud of Education Reform Under Capitalism* for only \$1. The two newest issues of the Marxist magazine *New International* can be purchased for \$25 for both with a

subscription.

Together with the circulation drive, the *Militant* has launched an effort to raise \$90,000. The funds are needed to help cover the paper’s operating expenses. These include costs for reporting trips, rent, utilities, printing, shipping, and equipment maintenance

Militant supporters in New York started the fund-raising with a bang, reported Amy Husk who organizes the effort there. They sent out a mailing inviting supporters of the paper to donate. They followed up with phone banking. And they held a fund-raiser at the April 14 Militant Labor Forum.

“The *Militant* doesn’t have advertisements for Nike or Victoria’s Secret,” said Ben O’Shaughnessy, the organizer of the Young Socialists in Albany, New York, in giving the fund pitch at that meeting. “The paper depends solely on contributions from working people and youth like yourselves to cover the high costs of publishing and getting the coverage you see every week.”

The collection at the New York forum netted more than \$1,700. New York *Militant* supporters have taken a quota of \$12,000 for the fund. Of that they have already turned in \$2,239, funds sorely needed now.

You can join these efforts. Contact the *Militant* directly (see information on page 2) or distributors of the paper nearest you (see directory on page 8).

Paul Pederson contributed to this article.

Spring 2006 ‘Militant’ Sub Drive			
April 8–May 28			
Week 1 of 7			
Country	Quota	Sold	%
UNITED STATES			
Seattle	115	60	52%
Des Moines	150	69	46%
Twin Cities	145	63	43%
Miami	110	44	40%
Houston	100	39	39%
Price	65	23	35%
Albany, NY	12	4	33%
Amherst, MA	6	2	33%
Atlanta	75	22	29%
Washington, DC	75	21	28%
Philadelphia	100	28	28%
New York	300	75	25%
Detroit	20	5	25%
Birmingham	85	21	25%
Los Angeles	135	32	24%
Newark	140	31	22%
San Francisco	60	11	18%
Boston	75	12	16%
Chicago	85	9	11%
Tampa	10	1	10%
Pittsburgh	60	5	8%
U.S. Total	1,923	576	30%
ICELAND	14	3	21%
UNITED KINGDOM			
London	50	13	26%
Edinburgh	25	3	12%
UK Total	75	16	21%
NEW ZEALAND			
Auckland	30	7	23%
Christchurch	15	2	13%
N.Z. Total	45	9	20%
AUSTRALIA	30	5	17%
CANADA	110	18	16%
SWEDEN	35	2	6%
Int’l totals	2,232	629	31%
Goal/should be	2,000	285	14%

\$90,000 ‘Militant’ Fund Drive			
April 15–May 28			
Country	Quota	Paid	%
UNITED STATES			
New York	12,000	2,239	19%
Atlanta	3,500	0	
Birmingham	1,700	0	
Boston	3,000	0	
Chicago	5,500	0	
Des Moines	2,000	0	
Houston	3,000	0	
Los Angeles	8,500	0	
Miami	2,100	0	
Newark	3,500	0	
Philadelphia	3,200	0	
Pittsburgh	4,000	0	
Price	3,000	0	
San Francisco	8,500	0	
Seattle	8,000	0	
Tampa	300	0	
Twin Cities	4,800	0	
Washington, DC	2,500	0	
U.S. Total	79,100	2,239	3%
AUSTRALIA	1,000	0	
CANADA	2,000	0	
ICELAND	200	0	
NEW ZEALAND			
Auckland	1,500	0	
Christchurch	700	0	
N.Z. Total	2,200	0	
SWEDEN	640		
UK Total	1,800	0	
Int’l totals	86,940	2,239	3%
Goal/Should be	90,000		

Time to fight back?—“Despite a rebounding [?] economy, African-Americans are not making progress in achieving



Harry Ring

income, achieving net worth, employment and homeowner-ship levels of whites, according to a National Urban League report. Blacks have reached just 56% of the economic status of whites.... The unemployment rate for Blacks is 10%, com-

pared with 4.4% for whites”—*Los Angeles Times*.

Venezuela nips Chevron—A king of the gas pumps, Chevron has agreed to repay the government of Venezuela \$75 million in back taxes it tried to dodge, plus interest and fines. Chevron will survive getting caught. Currently, the media reports that nation-wide the gas pumps are headed back to \$3 a gallon.

They disgrace the word ‘Labour’—England’s Labour government is doubling the cost of attending night colleges. It’s estimated that a million students will be forced out. Most of them

are workers studying to qualify for a living wage. Reporting this drastic move, the *Times* of London didn’t even mention the impact on immigrants hoping to get a decent wage, and on a mass of teachers facing mass firings.

Blair, the art of bull—Prior to World Book Day, UK prime minister Anthony Blair told the *Times* of London about his early roots as a “socialist.” A deep influence, he said, was to read a trilogy by the late Isaac Deutscher, who wrote a biography of Leon Trotsky. At the time, some Marxist reviews praised Deutscher’s work. Others were critical. But one thing

is for sure. *My Life*, Trotsky’s autobiography, is truly a winner. It provides an invaluable account of his vital support to Lenin’s victory in the 1917 Russian Revolution. If you lack the book, check out our column, “Look Us Up.” Or click on Pathfinder’s web site.

P.S.—If there was such a thing as a “hereafter,” Trotsky would spin in his grave at the fraud of Blair suggesting that he’s a “socialist.” No less his move to exploit Trotsky’s name.

MD, hypocritical oath—The Hippocratic Oath is supposed to commit new doctors to abide by

an ethical code and human values. For head doctors at Los Angeles county hospitals, the oath is an obscenity. Currently, MDs in charge are “dumping” homeless patients back in downtown Los Angeles Skid Row. But, before kicking them out, they demand that the homeless patients sign “voluntary” departures. And if they balk at signing? Obviously a knotty problem.

Patience as a virtue—We never had a backlog of clippings as now. From veteran supporters and some new readers. So, please, give us time as we wrestle with the splendid stack of clippings.

— **ON THE PICKET LINE** —

United Farm Workers sign contract covering guest workers

The United Farm Workers union signed a nationwide contract April 11 covering agricultural guest workers. The pact with Global Horizons provides these workers with employer-paid medical care, paid work breaks, a seniority system, and paid bereavement leaves. The company employs about 1,000 workers in more than a dozen states, with plans to have 3,000 to 5,000 during the peak harvest season this summer. “For the first time, a union contract will protect agricultural guest workers from retaliation for complaining about conditions or treatment,” UFW president Arturo Rodriguez told the media.

—Brian Williams

Rallies in Toronto oppose deporting Portuguese workers

TORONTO—More than 200 people joined an April 1 action here at Dufferin Grove Park protesting the detention and deportation of immigrant workers. A smaller action was held here a week later. Organized by the group “No One Is Illegal,” the actions opposed the recent deportations of Portuguese construction workers and their families by the Canadian government.

Paulo Santos, whose father is a bricklayer, has lived in Canada with his family for five years. He said they had received a deportation order for April 23. “The only way we’ll stop fighting is when they put us on the plane,” said Santos. Students from the school that he attends came to the April 1 action with their banner reading, “Let them stay.” Speakers at the rallies included representatives from the Canadian Auto Workers and the Canadian Union of Public Employees.

—Bev Bernardo

Teamster trash haulers strike in Maryland and D.C.

WASHINGTON—Teamsters here and in Maryland are on strike against Waste Management, Inc. (WMI). Strikers report that of the 88 drivers and mechanics here, 85 walked out April 3. The company has brought in workers from their nonunion operations in surrounding states to operate the trucks, which frequently passed the picket line. The striking unionists are members of Teamsters Local 639.

Theopolis Roberts, who has been a driver for 22 years, expressed concern about safety on the job. He said that

part of the workers’ pay is based on how many cans (dumpsters) they empty each day. The more they dump, the more they get paid. “This incentive leads to unsafe driving and accidents,” he said. “We want a straight hourly wage!” Bobby Hill, a driver for 16 years, said that WMI wants to convert the current pension plan into 401(k) investments with no matching contributions from the company.

—Tim Mailhot

1,000 in Ohio rally for locked-out A.K. Steel workers

MIDDLETOWN, Ohio—More than 1,000 people rallied here March 31 in support of the 2,600 members of the Armco Employees Independent Federation (AEIF) locked out by A.K. Steel. Before the contract expired A.K. Steel began forcing workers to train replacements, said AEIF president Brian Daley. After the February 28 expiration date the company then locked out all AEIF members. Guards were hired to threaten and intimidate picketers.

In an act of solidarity, United Auto Workers Local 3303 at the A.K. Steel plant in Butler, Pennsylvania, contributed \$10,000 to the locked-out workers. Dave Moore, president of UAW Local

4104 at A.K. Steel’s Zanesville, Ohio, plant pointed out that their contract expires on May 20. “It’s a steamroller coming,” he said. “Workers at Zanesville are behind you 100 percent. We hope you can stop this locomotive.”

—Bobbi Sack

Iceland: workers demand wage hike

REYKJAVIK, Iceland—Around 1,000 nursing home workers here and in neighboring towns, most of them members of the Efling trade union, have been carrying out slowdowns to press for higher wages. On March 29 they showed up for work, but only helped people to bathrooms and served simple food. The action was repeated April 6–7. A meeting of 100 workers on April 10 voted for a weeklong slowdown starting April 21. That action was later postponed until April 27.

The starting monthly wage for these

5,000 N.Y. building workers rally against givebacks



Militant/Arrin Hawkins

NEW YORK—Some 5,000 members of the Service Employees International Union Local 32BJ and their supporters rallied here April 18 against a “giveback” contract that would force building maintenance workers to pay 15 percent toward their health coverage and accept a one-year wage freeze and pension cuts.

workers is 101,000 ISK (\$1,390) and the highest is 138,000 ISK (\$1,900). “The workload has increased,” said Álfheidur Bjarnadóttir, a spokesperson for the nursing home workers. “Forty hours overtime a month is considered low, and shifts are often understaffed so you are called and asked to work on your days off.”

—Ögmundur Jónsson

— **25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO** —



May 1, 1981

Under the slogan “Support Rail Labor,” the Railway Labor Executive Association is mobilizing the members of railroad unions to demonstrate April 29. The demonstrations will be held in Washington D.C. and a number of other cities.

Every rail union is officially involved in these actions and is working to get out its membership.

The purpose of the demonstrations is to stop the government’s attempt to wreck Conrail and Amtrak and in the process bankrupt the Railroad Retirement Fund.

Tens of thousands of jobs and the welfare of hundreds of thousands of workers are involved.

Several unions organizing the demonstrations have suggested calling a strike of rail workers later.

The response to the call for April 29 indicates that rail workers feel very strongly about the attacks against them.



April 30, 1956

The Kremlin magazine Soviet State and Law has denounced the practice, prevalent in the Soviet Union under Stalin, of basing convictions in court on mere confessions. In the issue that appeared April 22 it singled out Andrei Y. Vishinsky, main prosecutor in the Moscow Frame-Up Trials, for attack, accusing him of having developed the infamous system of “proving” guilt by confession.

This course seems indicated by the number of Old Bolshevik victims of Stalin already rehabilitated, by the admission that Tukhachevsky and some 5,000 top Red Army officers were shot on frame-up charges, and the public recognition by Kremlin officials that Stalin undermined the defense of the Soviet Union on the eve of World War II and actually paved the way for the onslaught of the German imperialist armies.



May 1, 1931

For nearly two years, the most important countries of the capitalist world have been writhing in the grip of an unprecedented economic crisis. In the United States, as in the most other lands, industry had been prostrated, trade clogged up, agriculture driven into a chaotic position. All of its unexampled power, its enormous resources, its dominant position in world economics and politics, its lavish wealth, has not prevented the United States from being drawn into the deepest crisis it has ever known.

Who is suffering most acutely the effects of the crisis? The millions upon millions of workers tramping the streets in vain search for work, their hungry, desperate families, the ever-lengthening breadlines are an eloquent reply to the question. The plan of the capitalist class, driven into a corner by the crisis that has overwhelmed it, is to put the burden of the difficulties upon the shoulders of the working class.

Detroit workers fight firings

Continued from front page

employees had been allowed to take the day off. Workers had been warned that all employees were expected to report for work the day of the protest unless they had been granted a personal day off, he said.

Many joined the march despite the threats, including 21 of the 30 or so workers in the steak room. “They never told us we would be fired,” Ramírez said. “I thought they would suspend us for three days and take away our bonus, like they have done other times.

“The government began this discussion about immigration, and we want to make sure that legalization becomes a reality, that it not be left as promises,” she said.

Bosses try to victimize immigrants

Continued from front page

“met with the employers, discussed the significance of the protests and threatened to identify the companies publicly,” the *Times* article said.

In Tyler, Texas, located about 100 miles southeast of Dallas, more than 2,000 people rallied April 10 on the National Day of Action for Immigrant Justice. “It was historic, we’d never had a protest like that before in Tyler,” rally organizer and attorney Jose Sanchez told the *Militant*. He said he had been inspired to initiate the action after John Tyler High School students had organized a walkout and march downtown in late March, and students at Stewart Middle School followed suit on April 7.

The bosses at Benchmark Manufacturing in nearby Lindale fired a third of the workforce of about 60 after workers joined the march, but claimed in a statement that the discharges were for violating “company policy” requiring phoning when absent.

“We told the boss that we were going to the march and they never said we would lose our jobs,” said María Rodríguez, one of the 22 fired workers. “Before, even if you didn’t call in, the worst you’d get is a written reprimand. But this time they had applicants coming in even as they were walking us out. We asked if we’d been fired, but they said ‘laid off.’ I can’t tell the difference.”

Another rally in Tyler to demand legal status for immigrants is planned for April 30. It will be an opportunity to put pressure on the company to hire back the fired Benchmark workers, said Sanchez. “It needs to be an issue at the rally.”

In Houston, six workers at the Mambo Seafood restaurant were fired for participating in the April 10 march there. In response, protesters rallied outside the restaurant April 14 demanding that the dismissed workers be rehired.

In Madison, Wisconsin, bosses at a few small businesses suspended or fired workers for attending the April 10 protests. Octopus Car Washes fired two workers at one of its three operations in town, but has pulled back from dismissing 10 others pending discussions with representatives of the April 10 Coalition. Owner Jeff Jurkens told the media he informed his employees they would not be disciplined for joining the march as long as their work shifts were covered. But only two of 12 workers came to work the day of the protest. Although company policy is “no show, no call, no job,” Jurkens backed off from firing all those absent that day after many of 100-

On March 27, demonstrators met at the Church of the Holy Redeemer in Mexicantown, a largely immigrant neighborhood in southwest Detroit, to march downtown. Many local businesses remained closed until 2:00 p.m. when the protest ended.

When they returned to work, Wolverine Packing officials prevented the 21 workers from entering the plant, told them they no longer had a job, and asked them to clean out their lockers. Ramírez said many of the lockers had already been broken into.

Ramírez, who has worked at Wolverine nearly six years, is the only one of those fired who has been employed directly by the company. The rest are

plus callers to his company told him that if he abused immigrants they wouldn’t patronize his car wash anymore.

Divisions on May 1 boycott

More protests are planned across the country April 29–May 1. Some groups are organizing a “Day without an immigrant” on Monday, May 1. They’re calling on immigrant workers not to shop, work, or go to school, and to join May Day marches. Leading proponents of the May 1 boycott include the Los Angeles–based Mexican-American Political Association and the ANSWER coalition, an antiwar group.

Many of those who backed the April 10 actions, however, especially in and around the Democratic Party, are taking their distance. Cardinal Roger Mahony, who promoted earlier immigrant rights rallies in Los Angeles, is opposing walkouts on May Day. “Go to work. Go to school. And then join thousands of us at a major rally afterwards,” Mahony said in a statement.

Joel Foster of Somos America, a coalition that helped organize the April 10 rallies in Arizona, told the *Arizona Republic* that his group is promoting alternative actions, such as candlelight vigils.

The National Capital Immigrant Coalition in Washington, which helped organize the half-million-strong rally there, held a press conference in D.C. April 19 to distance itself from the boycott. Representatives of the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights in Los Angeles, National Council of La Raza, National Korean American Service and Education Consortium, Casa de Maryland, and the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, also took part.

“This is something we need to take very seriously, and consider all the repercussions of not doing it right or of creating a backlash,” said Jaime Contreras, president of the capital coalition and chairman of a Service Employees International Union local there. “It’s premature to do the boycott May 1.”

Contreras and others said they’ll call rallies on May 1 after work or school.

The United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) has been informing its Midwest locals that the union supports the immigrant workers’ cause for legalization but what UFCW members do on May 1 is their “personal decision.”

Edwin Fruit in Des Moines, Iowa; Steve Warshell in Houston; Michael Italie in New York; and Sam Manuel in Washington contributed to this article.



Cecilia Ramírez

Thousands of workers missed work to join immigrant rights march in Detroit March 27

temporary employees hired through an agency, Minutemen Staffing Co., even though most of them have worked at the packing plant for three years or more.

Wolverine Packing employs 350 workers in three plants in southeast Detroit. The majority of the workers are organized by United Food and Commercial Workers Local 876. In an attempt to keep the workforce divided and weaken the union, the company hires temporary workers in the steak room, which is not organized by the union. The main plant across the street is unionized. The temporary workers have no benefits, paid vacation, or sick leave, and many have not received a wage increase in years, said Ramírez.

“Firing immigrant and undocumented workers when they stand up for human rights is a common tactic employed in the meatpacking industry,” said a UFCW April 13 statement in response to the firings at Wolverine. “It’s a way to maintain a frightened and intimidated workforce.” The union condemned the “shameful and punitive bill” passed by the House of Representatives in December because it “would criminalize undocumented workers and anyone who assists them.”

The workers’ fight to win back their jobs received widespread media coverage. The story was reported in major newspapers and television networks in the United States and internationally, especially after the April 9–10 immigrant rights mobilizations, when a number of fired workers fought for reinstatement

at several other workplaces around the country. It was covered by, among others, the Spanish-language TV network Univisión, Radio Caracol in Colombia, Mexican radio stations, the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune*.

In face of this widespread publicity and the workers’ refusal to simply accept their dismissal, the bosses caved in to the mounting pressure and on April 13 offered to reinstate all 21 workers with full back pay. Company officials claimed there had been some confusion about “the notification and ramifications of missing work on March 27th.”

Wolverine said, however, that it would require Minutemen Staffing Co. to “recheck employment documentation before sending individuals back to work.” Bonahoom said he was concerned about news reports suggesting that some of the workers were undocumented. In earlier statements, he had said that as far as Wolverine knew, the workers were documented.

By April 18, Ramírez and 15 others were back on the job. She reported that when an initial group walked into the plant April 17, they were welcomed by co-workers with comments like “We are winning this battle!” The workers also submitted a letter to the company with a list of demands including three weeks back pay, a bilingual personnel office employee, and a review of pay scales every six months with increases based on length of service.

‘All options on table’ against Iran

Continued from front page

cision that month by the United Nations International Atomic Energy Agency to escalate the pressure on Iran by placing it on the agenda of the UN Security Council. Enriched uranium is necessary to fuel nuclear energy plants. It is also used in the production of nuclear weapons. Iran’s government insists its aim is to meet the country’s growing energy needs and not depend solely on diminishing oil reserves.

Tehran has signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Signatories are permitted to develop their own nuclear fuel production system, as Iran is now doing. But Washington and its allies are working overtime to change this. The imperialist powers insist that Tehran dismantle its nuclear fuel production facilities and instead depend on imported fuel to power nuclear plants.

“There is no doubt that Iran continues to defy the will of the international community,” U.S. secretary of state Condoleezza Rice told the press April 13. “When the Security Council reconvenes, there will have to be some consequence for that action and that defiance, and we will look at the full range of options

available to the Security Council.”

U.S. state department spokesman Sean McCormack said April 14 that these actions could include “asset freezes resolutions, Chapter 7 resolutions; it would include, potentially, sanctions; it would potentially include restrictions on the ability of some members of that regime to travel.” McCormack was referring to Chapter 7 of the UN charter, “Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression.” It was under this statute that the Security Council passed resolutions that helped provide rationalizations for the 1990–91 and 2003 U.S.-led assaults on Iraq.

Meanwhile, recent news articles and editorials have begun an open discussion aimed at winning public support in the United States for possible military attacks against Iran.

“The burden of proof ought to be on those who favor accommodating a nuclear Iran,” Reuel Marc Gerecht, of the American Enterprise Institute, wrote in the April 24 issue of the conservative magazine *Weekly Standard*. “Those who are unwilling to accommodate it, however, need to be honest and admit

Continued on page 7

Australia to bar W. Papua refugees

BY BOB AIKEN
AND RON POULSEN

SYDNEY, Australia—The federal government here has moved rapidly to try to defuse escalating tensions with the Indonesian government over the issue of asylum for West Papuan refugees. On April 7 Australian prime minister John Howard said that it was not in Canberra's

Threats against Iran

Continued from page 6

that diplomacy and sanctions and covert operations probably won't succeed, and that we may have to fight a war—perhaps sooner rather than later—to stop such evil men from obtaining the worst weapons we know.”

“Tactically, eliminating Iran's nuclear sites, experts say, would require 600 to 1,000 air sorties to make sure that underground sites were destroyed,” the *New York Times* reported April 12. Citing current and retired senior military officers and Pentagon officials, the *Times* added, “The military options against Iran range from a limited overnight strike by cruise missiles or stealth bombers aimed at nuclear-related activities, to a much larger series of attacks over several days against not only nuclear-related sites, but also other government targets, including the country's Revolutionary Guard and its intelligence headquarters.”

An editorial that appeared the same day in the *Wall Street Journal*, headlined “Iranian Bomb Scare,” said that “a priority should be developing the so-called bunker buster bomb, a low-yield nuclear weapon capable of destroying deeply buried targets. Much of Iran's nuclear program is thought to be buried, and while the U.S. has conventionally armed bunker busters, they might not be as capable as low-yield nukes.”

In an article published in the April 17 issue of the *New Yorker* magazine, Seymour Hersh claimed that preparations for such an assault are well under way. Hersh said that U.S. Naval tactical aircraft have been flying simulated nuclear-weapons delivery missions since last summer “within range of Iranian coastal radars” and “teams of American combat troops have been ordered into Iran, under cover, to collect targeting data and to establish contact with anti-government ethnic-minority groups.”

While these threats are escalating, Tehran has announced advances in developing its nuclear energy industry.

“The nuclear fuel cycle at the laboratory level has been completed and uranium with the desired enrichment for nuclear power plants has been achieved,” Ahmadinejad announced April 11.

“All Iranian power plants are now generating electricity from fossil fuel such as gas, gasoline, and mazut [heavy fuel oil] but they cannot meet the country's future demands,” Iran's energy minister, Parviz Fattah, told the media April 17, according to the Islamic Republic News Agency. “We are duty-bound to generate electricity and for this reason we have to meet our demands by making use of nuclear energy.”

Iran's population has doubled since the revolution in 1979, when working people toppled the U.S.-backed regime of the shah. But the country's oil production is now 70 percent of the 1979 level. Two-thirds of the residents of the 30,000 smallest rural villages in Iran's countryside do not have access to electricity today.

interests to see “the fragmentation of Indonesia.” A day earlier he declared that his government “will not support any kind of independence movement” in West Papua. Both governments are acting to forcibly stop more asylum-seekers from crossing to Australia.

Some 200 people marched in Sydney April 2 under the banner “Free West Papua,” with similar rallies in Melbourne, Brisbane, and Perth. The demonstrators supported the March 23 granting of temporary visas to 42 out of 43 West Papuans who landed in north Queensland in January seeking political asylum from Indonesian repression. The protesters also criticized Canberra's complicity in Indonesia's brutal occupation of West Papua since 1963.

The announcement of temporary asylum sparked diplomatic protests from Jakarta. Indonesia's president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, recalled his ambassador to Australia, and queried agreements with Canberra on security and on curtailing “illegal immigration.” He declared relations with the Australian government had entered “a difficult time.” Anti-Australian protests were staged by right-wing forces in Jakarta and other Indonesian cities.

Since early April, Jakarta has placed five patrol boats off West Papua to try to intercept refugees. Australian defense minister Brendan Nelson has since discussed joint naval patrols with the Indonesian naval command.

Anticolonial battles led to shift in U.S. immigration laws

(Second of three articles)

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Under the impact of the anticolonial struggles unfolding in Asia and other parts of the world during and after World War II, the U.S. capitalist rulers took steps to end its immigration policy of barring Asians from entering the country. These restrictions had been in effect since 1917, when Congress passed a law setting up an “Asiatic Barred Zone,” which banned immigration from India and all of South and Southeast Asia.

In 1943 Congress passed the Magnuson Act, which lifted barriers to citizenship for most immigrants of Asian origin. This law also repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which had been in effect since 1882. Minimal immigration quotas were now permitted. From China, 100 people selected by the U.S. government could now enter the country annually. In 1946 immigrants from India were also granted a token immigration quota of 100.

Another factor leading to changes in immigration policy was the U.S. employers' growing labor needs. In 1943, legislation was passed setting up “guest worker” status, known as the *bracero* program, providing for workers to be brought into the United States from Mexico and other countries in Latin America. This program, in effect until 1964, employed 5 million Mexican workers on a temporary basis with low pay, long hours, poor conditions, and no union rights in the fields of the Southwest and factories of the Southeast.

The 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act, also known as the McCarran-Walter Act, formally lifted the policy on racial exclusion and bans on immigration from any particular country. The law was adopted during the Cold War years and also provided for the deportation of



West Papuan refugees arriving in Melbourne, Australia, April 3, after being held in the government's immigrant detention center on Christmas Island in the Indian Ocean.

Despite promising in 2001 greater autonomy for West Papua, the Indonesian government has 50,000 security personnel in the province of more than 2 million people, aiming to suppress deep-rooted demands for self-determination.

The Australian-British mining giant Rio Tinto has a 40 percent share in the huge Freeport open-cut gold and copper mine, which was the focus of weeks of protests in West Papua in February and March. The mine has left a massive trail of destruction, while virtually none of the billions generated in profits and taxes remains in West Papua. The northern Australian cities of Darwin and Cairns are the major service centers for the mine. The Cairns Chamber of Commerce is among those calling for Canberra to take a “hard line” against West Papuan refugees.

The March 23 granting of temporary

immigrants or naturalized citizens for advocating “subversive activities.”

McCarran-Walter abolished the “Asiatic Barred Zone,” replacing it with what was called the “Asia-Pacific Triangle.” Immigration from all countries in this region was capped at 2,000 per year. Entry into the United States was to be based on ethnic categories and not exclusively limited to geographic origin. For example, a person of Japanese origin living in France would be counted under Japan's quota limit.

The law retained the national origins quota system, in place since 1924, but slightly raised overall country quotas. Entry of immigrants from all nations in the Western Hemisphere, many of whom entered through the border with Mexico, remained unrestricted.

During the first historic immigration surge in the United States, from 1880 to 1920, nearly 90 percent of the 23.5 million immigrants had come from Europe. For the next several decades, the national origins quota system sharply reduced these numbers. By the early 1950s, the United States was no longer comprised of many first-generation immigrants.

Over the course of the 1950s, immigration patterns began to shift. During that decade, 2.5 million people entered the country, a million more than during the previous two decades combined. Less than half of these immigrants were admitted under the quota system, and 1 million came from Canada, Mexico, and Latin America.

The Japanese government's propaganda during World War II had exposed Washington's hypocrisy in its claims of concern for the people of China at the same time as it enforced onerous restrictions on immigration. The U.S. rulers were also confronted with the impact

asylum came one week after a confrontation between West Papuan protesters and Indonesian riot police at Cendrawasih University on the outskirts of the provincial capital Jayapura. Four Mobile Brigade cops and a plainclothed air force officer were killed in the clash, as well as two Papuan protesters. A Mobile Brigade unit had moved to take down barricades at the university, firing live ammunition at students, who retaliated with stones.

Dozens of Papuans were beaten and arrested as the Indonesian cops went on a rampage after the clash. Some 1,200 students in Jayapura fled into the forest after the incident, 200 of them remain in hiding.

In Jakarta, West Papuan students have continued protests over the Indonesian repression. They are reportedly planning to seek asylum at the Australian Embassy to publicize their fight for self-determination.

of the struggles for independence from colonial rule sweeping Asia and Africa, especially the successful independence struggle in India after World War II, the triumph of the Chinese revolution in 1949, and the battles against colonial rule in Vietnam and Algeria.

These changes in world politics, together with the mass civil rights movement at home, and the increased need for labor power at a time of economic expansion, were key factors leading Washington to carry out major changes in its immigration policy.

In 1965 Congress modified the Immigration and Nationality Act, abolishing the national origins quota system that had been in place for four decades. The limit on total immigration was nearly doubled from 154,000 to 290,000 a year.

The law allowed for a maximum of 170,000 from outside the Americas, with a cap of 20,000 per country and a visa system favoring relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent residents, refugees, and skilled workers.

For the first time an annual ceiling—120,000—was set on immigration from Mexico, the rest of Latin America, the Caribbean, and Canada. Neither per-country limits nor preference categories were included, however.

The 1965 law allowed Asian immigrants to enter on a more equal footing with people from other parts of the world. By the mid-1960s, the majority of immigrants coming to the United States were from Latin America and Asia, while those from Europe dropped below 20 percent. The U.S. capitalists drew in workers from Mexico and other semicolonial countries in order to meet their profit needs—a large pool of labor subject to second-class status that could be superexploited.

Labor and the origin of the human species and society

Below is an excerpt from Humanism and Socialism by George Novack, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month in April. The eight essays in this book give a materialist explanation of the origin of the human species and human society. Novack explains how Marxism deepened and amplified the humanist tradition by placing its enduring elements on a firm materialist foundation, inseparably linked to the revolutionary struggle of working people against capitalist exploitation. Copyright © 1973 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY GEORGE NOVACK

Any inquiry into the essential nature of humanity is inseparable from the problem of the making of the human race. The socialist humanism of the Marxian school teaches that *the essence of humanity is creative practice*. This definition flows from its labor theory of human origins and development.

The practice of working for a living, of producing day in and day out the means of subsistence with tools and weapons, introduced the decisive difference between the prehuman and human. Our species has, quite literally, worked its way up to the human from



Illustration of prehistoric human chipping with a stone tool. Using tools and toolmaking are the essence of laboring activity, collective production, and of social organization.

the animal state and from there, step by step, has moved toward civilization.

The new function acquired by the primate set in motion the human capacity for creativity. Humankind thereupon became demarcated from other living beings by the ability to generate new phenomena by conscious, deliberated, premeditated action. From these and through these, humans have kept on producing new things, new needs, and new ways and means of satisfying wants without limit or end.

Our ancestors threw rocks and used slings to bring down small game and to fell enemies; our contemporaries make intercontinental ballistic missiles tipped with nuclear warheads. The modern weapon is the latest in a line of ascent from the most primitive missile.

The intellectual capacities of our species have grown out of such productive—and destructive—social practices. The savage hunter knows the connection existing between the weapon he hurls and the satisfactory result. His skill is

based on repeated and regular acts. Similarly, the fashioning of a standardized hand ax by detaching flakes from a large core demonstrates that a connection exists between the repetition of the proper blows and success in achieving the desired product. The type of observations involved over hundreds of thousands of years in such recurrent activities of production have given rise to theories of causal change, a subject so complex that philosophers and scientists are still trying to unravel its intricacies.

Humanity, then, is above all an innovator. It has been aptly described as “the restless creator.” The power of creativity has been the source of many religious, mystical, and idealistic theories about our nature. But there need no longer be anything mysterious about the genesis of this capacity. It has historical sources and material foundations that are being uncovered by the natural and social sciences and have been best clarified by the method of Marxism.

The Marxist interpretation of history

explained that material production is the fundamental factor of social life and that the course of its development changes both external nature and the internal human being. In distinction from the animals, humans create the objective conditions that determine their evolution. The evolution of all other living organisms is determined for them by purely natural conditions. This is not the case with our species. The geographical environment, the climate, the fauna and flora, and other natural factors do not basically shape the socio-historical process. This role belongs to the productive forces that humans themselves fashion. While the natural factors enter as an indispensable and integral component of the productive forces, their decisive element is active, conscious, collective laboring humanity.

The first manifestation of humanity's most fundamental trait took place at the beginning of its career. The most momentous creative act was the fashioning of itself as a distinctive species out of animal raw materials. This unconscious process gave birth to consciousness.

Our progenitors sparked the power of creative initiative by embarking on the function of producing the means of subsistence for themselves and their kin. The collective production of food led to the sharing of the provender. Cooperative labor and the apportionment of its output constituted the basis of the original group life and whatever emerged from its associated activities. The practice of workmanship led to the fabrication of tools. Communal living made possible the generation, then the domestication, of fire. Through such innovations humans came to shape more and more materials into useful objects, thus asserting their power against nature's and counterposing their will to coercive external circumstances.

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No to victimization of undocumented

In the wake of the massive demonstrations across the United States by workers demanding undocumented immigrants be legalized, bosses in a number of cases have fired employees who missed work to take part in the actions. Refusing to be intimidated, workers have fought for reinstatement, scoring victories for labor. They deserve the support of all working people.

From meat packers in Detroit to house painters in Monroe, Washington, to auto parts workers in Chicago, dozens of fired workers have won back their jobs. Others continue to press for reinstatement.

Their struggle, which is part of the broader fight for amnesty and permanent residency for the undocumented, is not a “Latino issue” or an “immigrant issue.” It strengthens *all working people*, U.S.- and foreign-born alike. Bosses rely on immigrant labor. They use their cops and legal system to maintain a pariah section of the working class in order to foster divisions among workers and as a source of superprofits.

The recent protests, whose size and scope surprised the ruling class, demonstrate the growing self-confidence of millions of immigrant workers. To undercut their impact, the bosses will continue to scapegoat immigrants, blaming them for unemployment and other social ills caused by the profit system. Spokespeople for the wealthy capitalists posing as “friends of immigrants” are warning workers not to “antagonize Americans,” counseling them instead to keep quiet and to rely on the Democratic Party, the courts, and immigration “reform.”

But the recent actions—the largest working-class demonstrations in the U.S. in decades—show the potential power of working people. They have an impact

on millions of U.S.-born workers and farmers, reinforcing their own willingness to fight and breaking down prejudices against workers born abroad. In fact, these immigrant rights protests are not an isolated development. They are part of a pattern of resistance among working people against attacks by the employers on our wages, working conditions, safety, and dignity on the job.

All those who support legal status for the undocumented should join upcoming actions for immigrant rights, including those planned for April 29–May 1. Many workers may skip work or school on May Day. It’s important, however, to recognize that most of the organizers of the earlier mobilizations, including trade unions, are not behind the May 1 boycott. Any calls for a generalized strike are not based on a mass working-class movement—the only force that can stay the hand of the bosses, who will be better prepared this time to go after workers who don’t show up on the job on May Day.

Some bosses are warning that they are now going to check the documents of workers who join such demonstrations in order to verify that they are not “illegal.” This is the same tactic the C.W. Mining owners used against coal miners who have fought to unionize the Co-Op mine in central Utah. On the eve of a union representation election, the company dismissed dozens of miners on the pretext that they did not have proper documents. The illegal firing of these workers is still awaiting final decision by the National Labor Relations Board.

All working people should support those being victimized by the employers for joining immigrant rights protests or fighting to unionize. The future of the labor movement is at stake.

‘Slavery in N.Y.’: a magnificent exhibit

BY ARRIN HAWKINS

In a letter published in the April 10 *Militant*, reader August Nimtz commented on the article “Exhibit shows how slave labor built New York” in the March 13 issue. Nimtz says he agrees that the existence of chattel slavery in New York is a part of “northern history [that] is ignored or unknown.” He argues, however, that the exhibit referred to in the *Militant* is “self-congratulatory” and gives a “misrepresentation” of how “the ‘peculiar institution’ came to an end in New York decades before it did in the South.”

The “Slavery in New York” exhibit was featured at the New York Historical Society from October 7 to March 26. It illustrated in a multifaceted way the significant role of slave labor in New York, from the establishment of the Dutch colony in the early 1600s and the British colony from 1664 to 1781, to the development of New York City in the early 19th century as a U.S. center of international commerce.

Far from being “self-congratulatory,” the exhibit presented a wealth of information showing how initial

REPLY TO A READER

capitalist development of New York was based to a large extent on slave labor and the slave trade. New York was the largest slave-holding state in the North, with 21,000 slaves by 1790. New York slaving ships made more than 150 trips to Africa between 1715 and 1776, as the city became a major center for transporting slaves to the southern states and to the Caribbean. Slave labor was used in agricultural production in what is now Long Island and Queens, supplying the British plantation economies in the Caribbean.

Nimtz voices concern that the message of the exhibit’s “corporate sponsors” was to show that it was the actions of “enlightened elites” that ended slavery in New York in 1827 before it was ended in the South with the 1861–65 Civil War. If that was the intended message (and incidentally, what museums, libraries, or university programs do not rely on corporate sponsors?), it fell on deaf ears for the record numbers of people, particularly Blacks, who viewed the exhibit. On any given day the rooms of the center were packed with families, church and school groups, and others who came to see how Blacks resisted and labored, and what they accomplished despite the brutal conditions under which they toiled.

“Slavery in New York” revealed the little-known role of Black labor in constructing New York City’s early foundations and of the struggles by Blacks against their oppression. It told, for example, of the rebellion by a group of enslaved Africans in New York City in 1712. It illustrated how, when draconian slave codes prohibited more than three slaves from gathering in the same place, Blacks organized meetings around public water wells and other places.

The exhibit also included a section depicting free Blacks who worked as wage laborers on New York’s docks and ships in the 1800s, and how these workers turned to political struggles for voting rights and the abolition of slavery. It displayed a photo of a 114-year-old Black man named Caesar, who outlived three owners. The picture shows him upright, cane in hand, proud and undefeated.

Chattel slavery declined in the industrializing North as it became less profitable than the use of wage labor. The exhibit shows, however, that even after its abolition in the state in 1827, New York’s bankers and merchants played a key role in financing the slave-holding South, profiting from its cotton trade, all the way up to the Civil War. The Democratic Party machine that ran New York, in fact, was an ally of the Southern slavocracy.

In response to the exhibit’s popularity, the New York Historical Society extended it by three weeks. Afterwards, the Society announced that it has created a smaller version of the “Slavery in New York” exhibit for permanent display on the center’s fourth floor, and is planning a follow-up exhibit on “New York’s Long Civil War, 1815–1870,” starting in November.

For those who missed it at the Historical Society, a panel exhibition of “Slavery in New York” can now be seen at the Queens Central Library in Jamaica, New York, from April 6 to June 27.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

FLORIDA

Miami

U.S. Hands Off Cuba and Venezuela! Speaker: Maggie Trowe, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Jose Martínez, secretary of the Bolivarian Circles and member of Alianza Martiana. Fri., April 28. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30

p.m. 8365 NE 2nd Ave., Room 206. Tel. (305) 756-4436.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Workers Fight Firings of Undocumented Immigrants. Speaker: Róger Calero, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 28.

U.S. Hands Off Iran! Speaker: Willie Cotton, SWP. Fri, May 5.

Both events: Dinner, 7:00 p.m.; program, 8:00 p.m. Donation: \$5 dinner, \$5 program. 307 W. 36th St. 10th Floor (near 8th Ave., take north elevators). Tel.: (212) 629-6649.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

U.S. Hands Off Venezuela. Speakers: Ryan Scott, Young Socialists; Raymond Keller, graduate student teacher at West Virginia University. Fri., April 28, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$4. 5907 Penn Ave. Suite 225. Tel.: (412) 365-1090.

TEXAS

Houston

Immigrant Worker Walkouts: Powerful Message to Bosses. Speaker: Steve Warshell, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 28, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5. 4800 W. 34th St. Suite C-51A. Tel.: (713) 869-6550.

NEW ZEALAND

Christchurch

US Rulers Gear up for ‘Long War.’ Sat., April 29, 5:00 p.m. 287 Selwyn St., Spreydon.

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Celebrate Life and Political Contributions of Clifton DeBerry. Sat., May 6. Speakers: Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; Young Socialists representative; Betsey Stone, organizer of San Francisco SWP branch. Dinner, 5:00 p.m.; program, 6:30 p.m. UFCW Local 101 Hall, 208 Miller Ave. For more information: (415) 584-2135.

Los Angeles

Hands Off Venezuela and Cuba. Sat., May 20 at 12 noon. Gather at the Downtown Federal Building, 300 N. Los Angeles. March to Pershing Square.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Solidarity Rally in Support of TWU.

Mon., April 24, 4:00 p.m. Sponsored by New York State AFL-CIO and NYC Central Labor Council. Rally at Brooklyn Borough Hall on Court Street and Joralemon Street.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Black Farmers March for Justice. April 26. Meet 10 a.m. at 1400 Independence Ave. Noon march. Sponsored by National Black Farmers Association, and Black Farmers and Agriculturalists Association. For more information call John Boyd (804) 691-8528 or Gary Grant (252) 826-2800.

Hands Off Venezuela and Cuba. Sat., May 20. 10:00 a.m. meet at 15th St. and Euclid N.W., march to Lafayette Park. 2:00 p.m. rally in front of White House. For more information call (917) 887-8710.

LETTERS

Resist unjust laws

Last week’s *Militant* mentioned the *National Review*’s opinion that the immigrant rights marches were “ominous” and that marchers “lacked sheepishness.” Other bosses are also alarmed of course.

This week on the news two politicians attacked the immigrants as being “Castro-loving scofflaws.” There are probably many immigrants who are sympathetic to Cuba. And the goal is to change the law so that all immigrants can become fully legal.

Besides, under capitalism scoffing at unjust laws is the beginning of wisdom. Or as Martin Luther King said, “People have a duty to resist unjust laws.” Sí se puede!

G.M.J.

Oregon

Political discussions in Cuba

I was in Santiago de Cuba March 15–22 with a contingent from the National Lawyers Guild for research and exchange with the Central Organization of Cuban Workers, Cuban labor lawyers, and others.

In two instances the resources of the *Militant* and Pathfinder led to solid political discussions. I had with me recent copies of the *Militant* and had just read *Our History is Still Being Written*. I used the *Militant* English side as my Cuban friends used the Spanish side as we talked about working-class issues in the United States. This facilitated excellent exchanges far beyond the limits of my halting Spanish. We were able to speak a language we all understood.

My knowledge of the three generals

of Chinese-Cuban descent and the monument to Chinese combatants shocked the Cubans and led to several discussions on the fight against imperialism and the class struggle. The Cubans were encouraged and fortified that there are people in the U.S. producing such materials. I could not have connected at such a level without your resources.

Kenneth Page

Brooklyn, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.